


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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Jubilee of
Confederation
1867-1917

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JUBILEE OF CONFEDERATION

1867 - 1917

EMPIRE DAY

WEDNESDAY
MAY 23rd, 1917

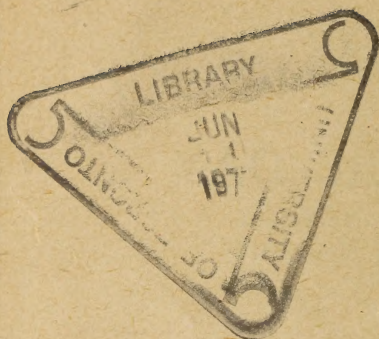


ONTARIO
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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1917

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1867—1917

On July 1st, 1917, fifty years will have elapsed since The British North America Act came into force, and the Dominion of Canada started on her wonderful career.

As it is not practicable to observe the Jubilee of Confederation at the beginning of July, it has been decided to celebrate the occasion on Empire Day, Wednesday, May 23rd, 1917.

The accompanying programme will provide suitable material for the exercises of the day.

EMPIRE DAY, 1917

JUBILEE OF CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

PROGRAMME

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 9.00- 9.10 | 1. Scripture Reading—Psalm 91. |
| | 2. Prayer—The Lord's Prayer. |
| 9.10- 9.15 | 3. National Anthem—God Save the King. |
| 9.15- 9.35 | 4. The Story of Our Flag—See Teachers' Manual on History, page 68. |
| 9.35-10.15 | 5. Lesson: History—The Provinces before Confederation. |
| 10.15-10.30 | 6. Song—"O Canada." (Educational Music Course, page 170.) |
| 10.30-10.45 | 7. Intermission. |
| 10.45-11.30 | 8. Lesson: Geography—Geographical Expansion of Canada since Confederation. |
| 11.30-12.00 | 9. Lesson: Literature—"A Song of Canada," Third Reader, page 140. |
| 12.00- 1.30 | 10. Noon. |
| 1.30- 2.00 | 11. Lesson: History—The British North America Act. |
| 2.00- 2.35 | 12. The Assembling and Saluting of the Flags of Britain and Her Allies. |
| 2.35- 2.55 | 13. Address on Sir John A. Macdonald. |
| 2.55- 3.05 | 14. Song—"My Own Canadian Home." (Educational Music Course, page 146.) |
| 3.05- 3.25 | 15. Address on Hon. George Brown. |
| 3.25- 3.40 | 16. Intermission. |
| 3.40- 3.50 | 17. Song—"The Land of the Maple." (Educational Music Course, page 108.) |
| 3.50- 4.10 | 18. Address—Canada, To-day and in Prospect. |
| 4.10- 4.20 | 19. Special Prayer. |
| 4.20- 4.30 | 20. National Anthem—God Save the King. |

It is assumed that the public will be invited to these Empire Day exercises, particularly in the afternoon.

This programme, which is intended primarily for ungraded Public and Separate Schools, is suggestive only. It should be modified freely where necessary and in particular with other types of schools.

It is not intended that any or all of the material in this bulletin should be read to the students, or even used. The bulletin is merely an accessible source of information for the teacher. Any of the pictures may be detached from this pamphlet—so as to be viewed by the pupils.

The teacher should conduct the lessons in geography and history. He may also conduct all the other exercises. It is suggested, however, that he invite the co-operation of the local clergy or of prominent citizens or public men, especially in connection with the addresses.

THE PROVINCES BEFORE CONFEDERATION

It is difficult for the boys and girls of to-day to realize that only fifty years ago there was no Dominion; but, in its place, a group of small and comparatively unimportant British colonies. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were then separate, sparsely settled colonies, intent upon their own local problems, and having little intercourse with the rest of British North America. The Province of Canada was better settled and more important, but the great North-West was only a vast wilderness, still under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. A few missionaries, traders, and settlers were there, but the whole white population did not exceed 20,000 in number. Still farther west, many thousands of miners had been attracted to British Columbia, by the discovery, in 1857, of gold in the bed of the Fraser River; but, after the first rush was over, only a few thousand remained, and the white population of the colony was barely 12,000 in 1861. It is not very surprising, therefore, that a member of the British Parliament declared a few years earlier that the whole colony was not worth £20,000.

After the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, the united Province of Canada made rapid progress. The population rose from 1,100,000 in 1841 to 2,507,657 in 1861; and yet, in comparison with what they are to-day, the chief cities were still small. Montreal had only 90,323 inhabitants in 1861, Toronto 44,821, Hamilton 19,096, and London 11,555. On the other hand, many of the villages and some of the towns were far larger and more prosperous than they are now. For instance, the town of

Whitby, from which a very large amount of grain and lumber was then exported by vessel to the United States, had a population of about 8,000 in 1862.

In the period just before Confederation most of the people of Canada were engaged in agriculture and lumbering. Grain was grown more extensively then than now, and many parts of central and southern Canada still contained great pine forests. Moreover, the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty created a very large and lucrative trade with the United States in the products of the farm and the forest. Much of the grain and lumber was carried by water, and as a result many an Ontario harbour on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario was then a very busy point of departure for sailing vessels and steamers engaged in this export trade. At the same time the valley of the Ottawa produced an immense quantity of squared timber, most of which was exported to Europe. On the other hand, manufacturing was confined almost exclusively to the supplying of local needs, and little attempt was made to export manufactured goods. As a result, factories and workshops were generally small and scattered. Every good-sized village had a wagon shop, a planing mill, a grist mill, a harness shop, and one or more shops for manufacturing boots and shoes.

In the fifteen years before Confederation a very wonderful development in railways took place in Canada. The first railway in the country, the sixteen-mile line between Laprairie and St. Johns, L.C., had been opened in 1836, but in 1851 there was not yet a single mile of railway track in Upper Canada. In the following years, however, development was rapid, and, by 1865, 2,148½ miles were built and in use.

PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS OF CANADA IN OPERATION JAN. 1, 1861

(All Railways of 50 miles or more)

Corporate Name of Railway	Date of Opening	Length in Miles
Great WesternMain line, Suspension Bridge to Windsor	Nov. 1853—Jan. 1854 .	229
“ “ Branch lines, Harrisburg to Galt, Galt to Guelph, Hamilton to Toronto, Komoka to Sarnia...	Aug. 1854,—Dec. 1858.	116
Grand TrunkMain line, Sarnia to Rivière du Loup	Spring, 1847 — Nov., 1860.....	87½
NorthernMain line, Toronto to Colling- wood	June, 1853—Jan., 1855	95.14
Buffalo and Lake HuronMain line, Fort Erie to Goderich.	Nov. 1856—May, 1860.	162.27
Ottawa and Prescott.....	Dec. 1854	54
Montreal and ChamplainMontreal to Lachine, Caughna- waga, to Moer's Junction, St. Lambert's, to St. Johns, (old portion, 1836) St. Johns to Rouse's Point.....	Nov., 1847—Aug., 1852	81.76
Port Hope, Lindsay and Beaverton .Port Hope to Lindsay, Milbrook to Peterborough	Dec., 1857—Aug., 1858	56.50
Brockville and OttawaBrockville to Almonte, Smiths Falls to Perth.....	Feb., 1859—Dec., 1860	63.54

In the Maritime Provinces railways had made little progress, and in 1865 New Brunswick had only 196 miles, and Nova Scotia only 93.

Even after the construction of all these railways, colonization roads, built through the bush by the government, continued to be very important for giving access to those parts of the country not to be reached by the railways, and for encouraging settlement. In 1863 there were seven of these roads in Upper Canada, and five in Lower Canada.

As would be indicated by the activity of the Canadian Government in building colonization roads, great efforts were being made to induce immigrants from Europe to settle in Canada. Government publications declared that 7,000,000 acres of crown lands were surveyed and open for sale, at from thirty cents to one dollar per acre. Each settler had to put twelve acres under cultivation within four years, build a log house twenty feet by fourteen, and reside on his lot until these conditions were fulfilled.

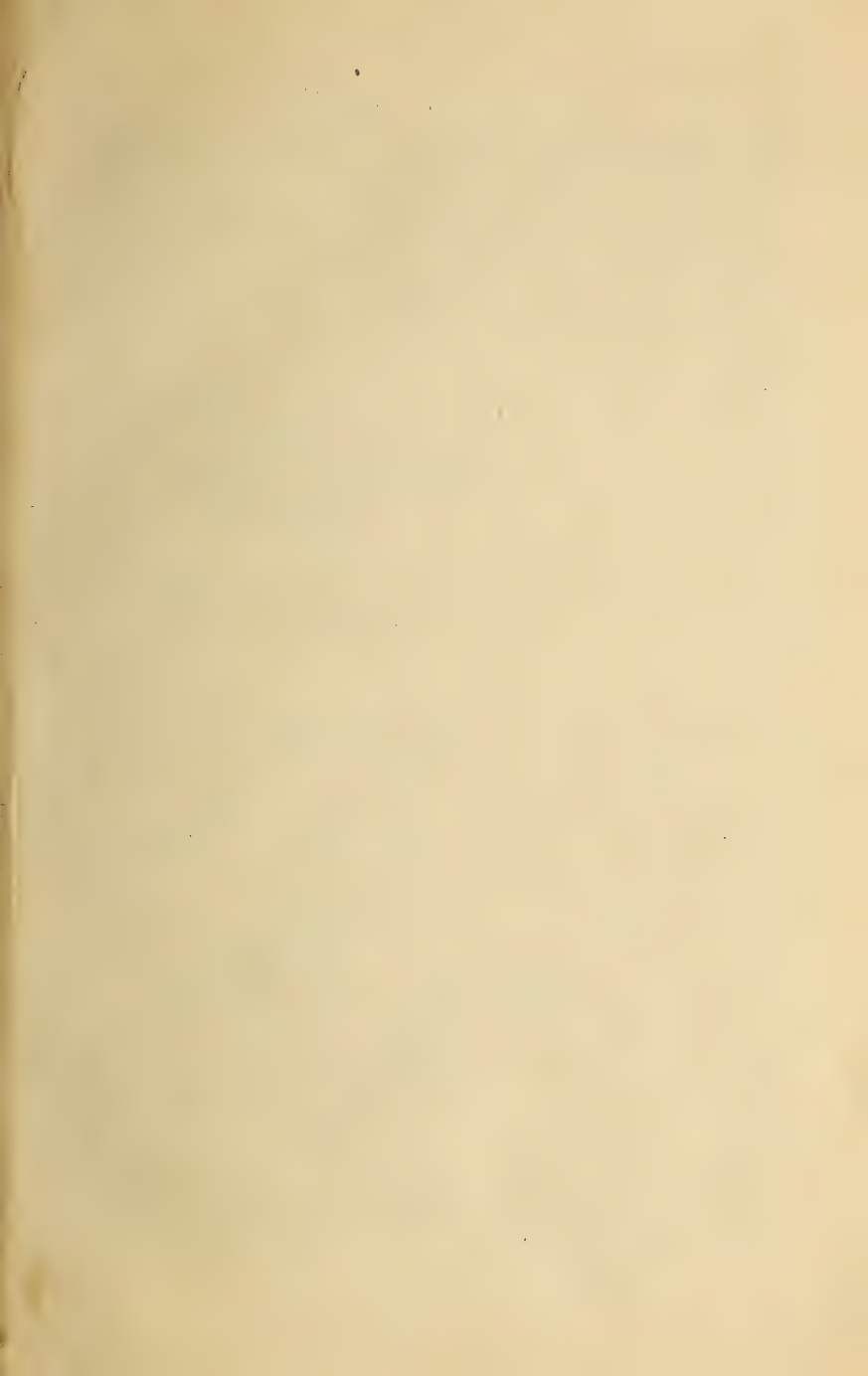
In 1861, 24,587 immigrants arrived in Canada, but of these a little over 10,000 proceeded to the United States. Those who remained settled in the following districts:

Western part of Upper Canada	9,500
Ottawa District	1,544
Eastern Canada	1,500
Gaspé	400
Unknown	943

13,887

Upper and Lower Canada, in the period just before Confederation, and, indeed, for years after that, were making the same appeal to the European immigrant that is now being made by our great western provinces. Three years after Confederation, a "Handy Guide to Canada" spoke thus of this country as a field for settlement: "Canada proper is now divided into two parts, called the Ontario and Quebec Provinces; but the most eligible district for British subjects is the former, or 'Upper Canada.' Exclusive of what has already been taken up by emigrants, there are fully 50,000,000 acres of a soil which, for variety and adaptability to the best purposes of agriculture, can bear comparison with any in Europe." In many parts of the country settlers were hewing homes out of the forest, and meeting many of the same difficulties that had been encountered eighty years earlier by the United Empire Loyalists.

Even in the older and better settled parts of Canada, social life was much simpler fifty years ago than it is to-day. There was less difference between the city and the country, between the rich and the poor. Departmental stores and great industrial establishments had not yet concentrated business, wealth, and population in the cities. For instance, the finest private residence in America, in 1862, was said to be the one built in Whitby by Sheriff





CANADA AT CONFEDERATION IN 1867
(ONTARIO, QUEBEC, NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK)



CANADA IN 1914, SHOWING THE EXTENSION OF BOUNDARIES OF QUEBEC,
ONTARIO AND MANITOBA, AS EFFECTED IN 1912

Reynolds, and now forming a part of Whitby Ladies' College. Samuel Day, a visitor from Britain, described it thus in his *English America*: "The castellated mansion of the sheriff, with its elegant towers, imposingly situated on rising ground, is considered the largest and handsomest detached dwelling on the whole American continent; so I presume the sheriffalty is rather a lucrative, if not quite a sinecure office in these parts." In those days Canada had few millionaires, but in the older sections there was a high degree of general prosperity.

Canadians were not only prosperous at that time, but they had high hopes for the future of the country. They looked forward to the ultimate union of all the British North American colonies, and were ready to prophesy that this great new Confederation would one day rival the United States in population.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION

The Dominion of Canada, as it appears on present-day maps, is not the Dominion of Canada created in 1867 by the British North America Act. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, when they entered Confederation, had the same area as they have to-day, but Ontario and Quebec were then much smaller than they are at present. In fact, in 1867, they had no definite northern boundaries, as the rough country to the north was little known, and the disputes about boundaries had not yet begun. However, as the areas in 1867 of Ontario and Quebec are usually given as 121,000 and 210,000 square miles, a tentative northern boundary must have been indicated, though the early maps do not attempt to mark it. Add to these areas those of Nova Scotia and New Bruns-

wick, 21,000 square miles and 28,000 square miles respectively, and we obtain the total area of the new Dominion of Canada, which was about 380,000 square miles. As Canada to-day has an area of 3,729,000 square miles, or almost ten times the area of the Dominion at Confederation, it is evident that her growth in area has quite kept pace with her development in other directions.

The chief areas of British North America, not included in the original Dominion, were Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island on the east, and British Columbia on the west; Rupert's Land, a vast territory around Hudson Bay with no distinct boundaries; the Bermudas, the British West Indies, and Honduras.

The more populous and wealthy possessions, which had been consolidated into the Dominion, formed a powerful centre toward which the more outlying possessions would naturally be attracted. Canada had always asserted a claim to the watershed of Hudson Bay, and now began to make that claim effective. This vast district had been under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company for almost two hundred years, and this Company claimed the right not only to exploit the fur trade, but also to govern the sparse population. Indeed, for many years the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company had dispensed a rough sort of justice from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains. Immediately after Confederation, the Canadian Government endeavoured to come to terms with this powerful Company, and finally purchased for \$1,500,000 all their claims to the ownership and the government of the district. In 1870 a part of this North-West Territory—as it was called—was organized into Manitoba, which thus became the first new province added to the Dominion.

British Columbia had long been a neglected colony. It was so isolated from the other parts of British North

America by the mountain barrier forming its eastern boundary, and by the vast stretch of prairie beyond, that a union with Canada seemed far away. But the government of Canada had men of vision who pictured a Greater Canada stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Through the influence of Sir John A. Macdonald, Mr. Anthony Musgrave was made Governor of British Columbia in 1869. He had formerly been Governor of Newfoundland, and had exerted all his influence to bring the ancient colony into the Confederation. His efforts were more successful in British Columbia, and in 1871 it became a province of the Confederation, the Canadian Government pledging itself to connect British Columbia with eastern Canada by means of a railway within ten years. This was the genesis of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It might have been thought that Prince Edward Island would come into Confederation at once, but she held out for six years. Surrounded on three sides by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, separated from these provinces only by the Northumberland Straits, and inhabited by the same race, she was bound soon to enter the Confederation. As Canada offered her generous terms in 1873, when financial assistance was needed, she joined the Dominion as the last province to enter from without.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a new era dawned in Western Canada. Population poured in to cultivate the fertile land of the prairies, and by 1905 the development had advanced so far that the Dominion Government under Sir Wilfrid Laurier formed two new provinces out of the parts of the North-West Territory which lay between Manitoba and British Columbia. These were called Alberta and Saskatchewan. Thus was completed the chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One further change is worthy of mention. In

1912 the boundaries of Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec were greatly extended to the north.

Only Newfoundland, of all the colonies adjoining the Dominion of Canada, has remained out of Confederation. Several times Canada has endeavoured to woo the ancient colony with generous terms, but up to the present these have always been rejected. As the soldiers of Canada and Newfoundland fight side by side in France, perhaps a new bond may be produced which will bring the two together. In fact, the Great War has already developed such a bond of union among the parts of the Empire that it is not too much to hope and expect that soon the Dominion of Canada will include not only Newfoundland, but also the Bermudas and the British West Indies. Thus all the parts of British North America would be consolidated into one of the great democracies forming the British Empire.

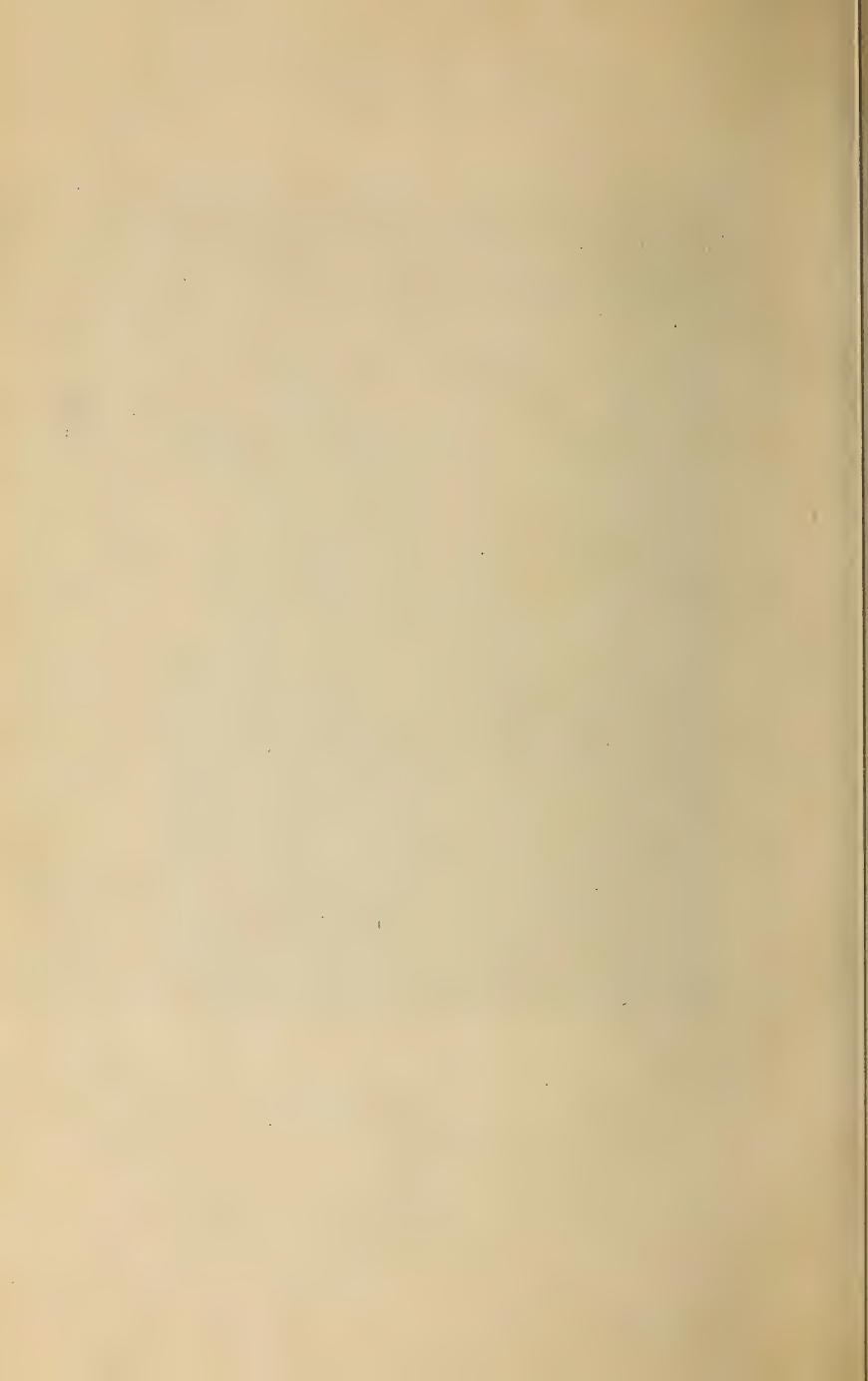
THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

The idea of Confederation took vague and indistinct form as long ago as the close of the American Revolution. As George III and his ministers contemplated what they gloomily called "the ruins of a once respectable Empire," the more far-seeing among them began to cast about for a means of consolidating what was left. Foremost among these was Lord Dorchester, better known to Canadians as Guy Carleton. He and his Chief-Justice, William Smith, a Loyalist refugee from New York, were firmly of the opinion that, to avoid a repetition of such a catastrophe as the American Revolution, it was advisable to establish a general government for all the British dominions in North America. A letter from Mr. Smith to Lord Dorchester contains the striking prophecy that the "new



The Manuscript of the 18th of Nov. 1844. AM. 9.6.1.1. Vol. 1. 1844

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nation about to be created would be a source of strength to Great Britain." The British Government, through Lord Grenville, however, expressed the opinion that such a general legislature for British possessions in America was open to too many objections, and thus the first proposal for Confederation was definitely set aside.

The war of 1812 was the next event which emphasized the defenceless position of Upper and Lower Canada. Nor did the common danger serve to unite them. From 1814 on, they quarrelled bitterly over the division of the revenues, and so strained did the relations become that in 1822 the Imperial Government introduced a Bill of Union; but it was regarded so coldly by both provinces that it was dropped. In 1824 Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie wrote to Mr. Canning, pointing out that a properly modelled central government would be in the interests both of Britain and of Canada. But Mackenzie, instead of throwing all his splendid powers into this work, hurt Confederation by his mad scheme of armed rebellion. Then came Lord Durham, who reported that all the best minds of the provinces were anxious for union, but he, too, erred when he suggested that one of the objects of Confederation was to absorb the French-Canadian race into the prevailing British type. The Act of Union, passed in 1840, again set aside Confederation for twenty years, and was far from a satisfactory solution of the difficulties.

The obstacles in the way of a federal union of the British dominions in America must certainly have appeared well-nigh insurmountable, even to the most daring statesman. Chief of these, perhaps, was the great distance and lack of communication between Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and, indeed, between Upper and Lower Canada. The city of Quebec was practically as far from Toronto as Ottawa is from Vancouver to-day. Sir Richard

Cartwright tells of a train which took four days to go from Prescott to Ottawa. Each province had its own tariff, code of laws, postal regulations, and even currency, which all added to the difficulty of promoting friendship and commerce. In both Canadas politics were bitter and personal. French Canada naturally dreaded a union which would be overwhelmingly British. Upper Canada was divided between "Grits" and "Tories," who could not see alike on any single question. The people of the three Maritime Provinces were jealous of the preponderating strength of the Canadas. Another deterrent was the case of the United States. Their much vaunted federation, whose perfections had been shouted across the border for eighty years, was torn asunder by the civil war (1861-1865), and seemed likely for a time to break down completely. Then, too, many British statesmen looked askance at a union of the Canadas. Had not such a union of the American colonies been a prelude to secession from the Mother Country? And so a dread of a similar result in the case of the colonies which still remained made them wish to keep the Canadas separate. Finally, other statesmen believed that Canada would never "pay," and should be encouraged, or at least permitted, to cut loose from the Mother Country.

In spite of all these difficulties the belief had formed and developed in the minds of far-sighted Canadian statesmen that some form of federal union was essential if Canada was ever to become the great nation which her geographical position and natural wealth warranted. Many of the difficulties in the way of union were removed or lessened by time. In the early sixties, steamships began to cross the Atlantic regularly and to ply on the lakes and rivers; the Grand Trunk Railway was pushed right through the two Canadas; the Intercolonial Railway from

Quebec to the sea through the Maritime Provinces was projected and would give Canada a winter port on her own territory. But the expense of constructing the road was too great unless the provinces united their resources. Then there was the case of the United States, which furnished an argument for, as well as against, federation. In 1865 the Union triumphed. Men saw how, from the time the States had united, their wealth and population had doubled and trebled in a way little short of marvellous. Might not a similar result follow in the case of British North America? The American Civil War, too, had stirred afresh the old ill-feeling between the United States and Britain. The North accused her of conniving at privateers in the Southern interests. Disbanded soldiers under Fenian auspices made raids into Canada, causing her some uneasiness and great expense. The United States and Britain were on the brink of war, and union was necessary for efficient defence of the country. The United States refused to renew the Reciprocity Treaty of 1865, thinking thus to bankrupt Canada and force her into annexation. Thus the necessity of military defence and of finding new markets made for union. In 1864 the three Maritime Provinces formally considered a union at a conference held in Charlottetown. To this Canada was permitted to send delegates, and the Maritime union fell through automatically when the two big Canadas proposed a general Confederation.

But the immediate cause of Confederation was the chaotic condition of the government of the Canadas. By the Act of Union each province had forty-two members in the Legislative Assembly. At first what was known as the Double Majority Principle had been adopted; that is, any measure affecting one of the provinces particularly had to receive a majority not only of the whole house, but of the

members from that province. While this was a common-sense idea, it was found to be unworkable, and was frankly abandoned by the Hon. John A. Macdonald. Another cause of trouble was the question of "Representation by Population." ✓ The census of 1861 revealed the fact that Upper Canada had a larger population than Lower Canada, and the former began to clamour for larger representation in the Assembly. Lower Canada protested, and the result was a dead-lock. The wheels of government refused to go; ministry followed ministry, each with no better success than its predecessor. There were sixteen Cabinets between 1841 and 1864—one, led by the Hon. George Brown, holding office for two days. Seeing the absurdity of such backing and filling, Mr. Brown suggested, in 1864, that the opportunity be seized of settling forever the difficulties between the two provinces. A coalition government was formed, with the object of forming a confederation of all British North America, if possible, or, at any rate of the two Canadas.

John A. Macdonald, the Conservative leader in the united Parliament of the Canadas, was the man who was mainly instrumental in bringing about this happy consummation. He has been likened to Lord Beaconsfield for his foresight, tact, and skill in managing men, and, oddly enough, they were much alike in appearance. He was ably assisted in Upper Canada by the Hon. George Brown, who disliked and mistrusted Macdonald intensely, and yet, to his undying credit, he forgot his personal feelings for the sake of the cause that was dear to him, and did as much as any one to bring about Confederation. Lower Canada was swung into line, and held there by an enlightened French-Canadian statesman, Sir George E. Cartier. The Maritime Provinces had to be placated, and their natural dread of being swamped allayed. In Nova Scotia the most

prominent statesman was Joseph Howe, who had almost single-handed won Responsible Government for his province. He blew hot and cold, and finally became a bitter opponent of the Union. But a young leader, Mr. Charles Tupper, by skilful management, won his province to the cause. With less difficulty Sir Leonard Tilley brought in New Brunswick, while Prince Edward Island definitely decided to stay out.

The final step was taken when a conference was held in 1866 in London, between British and Canadian statesmen. The result of their work was the British North America Act, which passed the British House practically unopposed, and came into force July 1st, 1867.

The Act provided that Canada (Upper and Lower), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick should be united under one federal government, but that each should manage its purely local affairs. The united country was to be called the Dominion of Canada, and henceforth Upper and Lower Canada were to be known as Ontario and Quebec. It is interesting to note that the first draft of the Bill calls the country the "Kingdom of Canada." This did not mean an independent kingdom, but an auxiliary one, with the monarch of England at its head. The term "Dominion" was substituted, lest, forsooth, the word "kingdom" might offend the Republican susceptibilities of our American neighbours! Many names were suggested for our country, some of them unsuitable, such as New Britain, Laurentia, Acadia, Cabotia, and Ursalia.

A Governor-General to represent the sovereign of Great Britain was to be appointed for five years. Each province was to have a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for five years. The functions of Governors were to call, prorogue, and dissolve parliaments, to choose councillors, to assent to measures passed by Par-

liament, and to exercise a general care over the interests of the country.

The real governing power was left to the councillors, whom the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor should choose from the party in majority in the House of Commons or Assembly. This, of course, is the principle of Responsible Government. The first Dominion Ministry was as follows:

Sir John A. Macdonald...	Prime Minister and Minister of Justice.
A. J. F. Blair.....	President of the Privy Council.
H. L. Langevin	Secretary of State for Canada.
A. T. Galt.....	Minister of Finance.
Wm. McDougall	Minister of Public Works.
Alex. Campbell	Postmaster-General.
Jean C. Chapais	Minister of Agriculture.
Sir George E. Cartier....	Minister of Militia.
Sir Leonard Tilley	Minister of Customs.
Wm. P. Howland.....	Minister of Inland Revenue.
Peter Mitchell	Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Adams G. Archibald.....	Secretary of State for the Provinces.
Edward Kenny	Receiver-General.

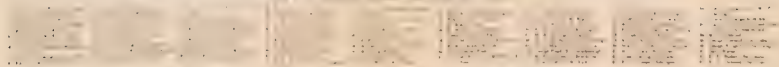
The Dominion Parliament was to consist of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate was to have 72 members: 24 from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, and 24 from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick combined. The Senators were to be appointed for life by the Governor-General. A Senator must be at least thirty years of age, and must be possessed of at least \$4,000 worth of property. The Senate's functions are identical with those of the British House of Lords prior to 1911. The House of Commons was to be elected by the people. With respect to its membership, the principle of representation by population was adopted. Quebec was taken as the standard and given 65 members, while the numbers from the other provinces were to bear the same relation to their populations that 65 did to the population of Quebec.

The Provincial Parliaments were to be similar to that



1967 CENTENIAL OF ONTARIO 1967 1971

THE 1967 CENTENIAL OF ONTARIO 1967 1971



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of the Dominion, except that it was left optional whether a province should or should not have a Senate. To avoid confusion, the old names, Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly were to be the official names of the provincial houses.

The duration of the Dominion Parliament was fixed at five years, that of the Provincial Parliaments at four years. All parliaments were to meet once a year.

The seat of the Dominion Government was to be Ottawa; the provincial seats were:

Ontario	Toronto.
Quebec	Quebec.
Nova Scotia	Halifax.
New Brunswick	Fredericton.

The Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the country. Such were: regulation of trade, postal system, public debt and borrowing money on public credit, military and naval matters, navigation, fisheries, currency and coinage, banks, bankruptcy, Indian affairs, naturalization of aliens, customs, marriage and divorce, public works, railways, criminal law, commercial law, etc. The Dominion Parliament was also given power to disallow Provincial Acts, but it was decided that "the course of local legislation should be interfered with as little as possible, and the power of disallowance exercised with great caution, and only where the general welfare imperatively demanded it."

The Provincial Parliaments were given power over direct taxation within the province, borrowing of money on provincial credit, management of public lands, timber, etc., licenses, public works within the province, civil and property rights, provincial courts, prisons and imprisonment, enforcement of the law of the province, education, municipal institutions, and generally of all matters of a local or private nature within the province.

Other important provisions of the Act were :

There should be absolutely free trade between the provinces of Canada. Money bills must originate in the House of Commons. In Parliamentary debates either the English or French language might be used, and proceedings must be recorded in both. The construction of the Intercolonial Railway was to be commenced within six months. It was also provided that other provinces might be admitted at any time.

It is often said that our constitution is a direct copy of that of the United States. This is untrue in some very important respects. In the United States the central government receives its power from the "Sovereign States" within clearly defined limits. Everything which the states did not specifically part with at the outset, is jealously guarded. Thus, theoretically, it is a very slender thread which binds a state to the union, and it was largely this centrifugal force which caused the American Civil War. The framers of the British North America Act took warning from the weak points in the American scheme. The provinces ceded all their powers to the Crown, and received back such measures of self-government as their representatives had agreed upon as desirable. That is, the United States system works from below, up; ours, from above, down. Again, with us, judges are not elected by popular vote as in the United States, but are appointed by the Governor-in-Council for life, and thus are not dependent "on the caprice of the people of a province for their nomination and retention in office."

It is enough to say that Confederation has fulfilled the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. The Act stands to-day as on July 1st, 1867, except that several new provinces have been admitted—an added proof of the advantages of union.

THE FLAG OF BRITAIN

Flag of Britain, proudly waving, over many distant seas;
Flag of Britain, boldly braving blinding fog and adverse
breeze.

We salute thee, and we pray, bless, O God our land to-day.

Flag of Britain! Wheresoever thy bright colours are out-
spread;

Slavery must cease for ever, light and freedom reign instead.
We salute thee, and we pray, bless, O God our land to-day.

Flag of Britain! 'Mid the nations, may it ever speak of peace,
And proclaim, to farthest nations, all unworthy strife must
cease.

We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

But if duty sternly need it, freely let it be unfurled,
Winds of Heaven then may speed it to each quarter of the
world.

We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Love of it, across the waters passing with electric thrill,
Binds our distant sons and daughters heart to heart with
Britain still.

We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Regions East and West united, all our Empire knit in one;
By right loyal hearts defended, let it wave beneath the sun.
We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

—E. A. WALKER

At the words "We salute," the hand should be raised in the attitude of salute. At the words, "And we pray," the head should be bowed, still retaining the hand at the salute. It is desirable that the Union Jack should be raised during the singing or the recitation of the song.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

There were giants in those Confederation days. There were, to mention a few, Brown and Cartier, Galt and Howe, Mowat and McDougall, Tilley, Tupper, and McGee. But foremost amid these giants of politics, leader among leaders—*primus inter pares*—stands John Alexander Macdonald, subject of this sketch. That this is no mere figure of speech, but sober fact, the history of his time and the tributes of his contemporaries offer convincing testimony. Sir Wilfred Laurier, speaking as leader of the Opposition from his place in Parliament, on the occasion of Sir John A. Macdonald's death in 1891, expressed this aptly. "It may be said without any exaggeration whatever, that the life of Sir John Macdonald, from the date he entered Parliament, is the history of Canada, for he was connected and associated with all the events, all the facts, which brought Canada from the position it then occupied—the position of two small provinces—to the present state of development which Canada has reached. He, who is no more, was in many respects, Canada's most illustrious son, and in every sense Canada's foremost citizen and statesman." When we consider the remarkable extent and character of his career in Parliament and remember the stirring times in which he lived, times marked with furious political passions and fraught with destiny for Canada, we can understand how hard it is for Canadian historians of the present day, not yet far removed from his own, to give an impartial estimate of his work, or view him apart from that atmosphere of adulation on the one hand or hostility on the other which naturally surrounds such a great party leader. For he was both the best loved and also the best abused man of his day. His Parliamentary career, in respect of both duration and distinction, is

almost without parallel in the history of democracies. He entered Parliament in 1844 and remained there until his death in 1891, an unbroken stretch of forty-seven years; and during all that time, except for the life of one Parliament only, he sat for the same constituency of Kingston for which he was first elected. Moreover, within three years after his first election he was called to a place in the Conservative government of the day, became the chief means of holding that party together during the six years of its unpopularity which followed defeat in 1848, was the prime mover of the coalition or fusion with the moderate Liberals in 1854 out of which grew the Liberal-Conservative party, attained the position of Premier in 1857, was recognized as the guiding spirit in the coalition of parties that made Confederation possible, bore a leading part in the conferences that framed the British North America Act, was knighted for his services, and invited to form the first Cabinet after Confederation as the first Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. This office of Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald continued to hold, with one interruption of five years, from Confederation in 1867 to the time of his death in 1891.

Right at the outset of his political life, highly controversial issues were dividing the public mind. Echoes of the "family compact" troubles and the "rebellion of '37" were still to be heard. Though he had attached himself to the Conservative party, he was never wholly in sympathy with the Tory ideas of the "family compact" school. Rebellion, however, he could not tolerate, and he had himself shouldered a musket in 1837. He used to tell humorously how wearied he became with the first day's march and how relieved he was that the affair was so soon over. The sense of loyalty was a compelling motive with him from first to last. His first address to his constituents at Kingston contained the sentence: "I,

therefore, need scarcely state my firm belief that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother Country, and that I shall resist to the utmost any attempt which may tend to weaken that union." So also his last manifesto to the wider constituency of the Dominion, contained the famous phrase: "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die." As his wife, Baroness Macdonald, expressed it in an article of reminiscences written six years after his death, "This fixed idea of a United Empire was his guiding star and inspiration." Accordingly, when some members of his party, in the heat of indignation over the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, which was construed as an encouragement to treason, joined in a movement that was marked by the mobbing of Lord Elgin the Governor-General, by the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, and the issuance of an Annexation manifesto, we do not find Macdonald countenancing these extremes. Though strongly opposed to the Bill, he confined himself to censuring the government for its lack of precaution against the violence it should have foreseen, and to allying himself with the British American League whose chief doctrines were permanent connection with the Mother Country, the union of all North America colonies, and the protection of home industries. Though Macdonald was no fiery apostle of reform, neither was he the uncompromising upholder of privilege. And when convinced that the people demanded the secularizing of clergy reserves in Ontario and the abolition of seigniorial tenure in Quebec, he took an active part in the coalition of moderates from both parties, by means of which a reasonable solution of these vexed questions was evolved. The ten years of troubled politics preceding 1864 served to prove the Act of Union between the two Canadas unworkable. It was the period of changing party align-

ments, of race and creed animosities, of political intrigues, of dubious majorities, and the sudden downfall of governments. The short administration of Brown and Dorion lasted scarce forty-eight hours. In the last three years of the period there were two general elections and four changes of governments. In this period Macdonald was sometimes premier, sometimes associate premier, and sometimes out of office. In fact, in one case, he changed offices over night. That was in 1885, on the occasion of the "double shuffle" between Macdonald and Cartier, "that altogether too clever trick," as Parkin has called it, by which "they avoided the expense and uncertainty of an election." During this period, too, he encountered his bitterest opponent in the redoubtable George Brown, and found his staunchest supporter in the courageous Cartier. Brown, with his propaganda of "Representation by Population," had Ontario behind him, and Cartier prevailed in Quebec. Nevertheless John A. Macdonald was the dominating figure in the House. And it was perhaps with reference to the qualities of political skill, which the maintenance of this ascendancy rendered necessary, that he was wont to say in later life that his greatest triumphs were won before Confederation.

The vivid portrait of him at this period given by his biographer, Sir Joseph Pope, is worth reproducing:

"Without pretension to oratory in the strict sense of the word, the intimate knowledge of public affairs, joined to the keen powers of argument, humour, and sarcasm, the ready wit, the wealth of illustration and brilliant repartee, gave to his speeches, set off as they were by a striking presence and singularly persuasive style, a potency which was well-nigh irresistible. Those of us who knew Sir John Macdonald only when his voice had grown weak, his figure had become stooped, his hair thin and gray and his face seamed with lines of anxious care, and remember the power which under these disadvantages of age he exercised over the minds and hearts of men, can well understand how it came to pass that, in the days of his physical prime, he inspired, not merely his followers, with a devotion which is almost without parallel in

political annals, but drew to his side first one and then another of his opponents, until he could truly say at the end of his days that he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that almost every leading man who had begun political life as his opponent ended by being his colleague and friend."

Worth quoting also is the acute estimate of another biographer, Sir George Parkin, on the effect of this period upon his future:

"On Macdonald the influence of this period was for both good and evil. It increased in him that laxity of political methods noted by Sir Alexander Campbell; it led him to think 'fighting fire with fire' a venial political sin; but it also brought out to the full his marvellous adroitness, his power of managing men and shaping coalitions. The skill with which he guided the tangled negotiations from 1864 to 1867 was won in the conflict of the previous ten years."

Macdonald had apparently begun to weary of the futile turmoil of politics and was contemplating the resumption of his profession of law, when the dead-lock resulting from the defeat of the Taché-Macdonald ministry in 1864 was unexpectedly solved by the historic offer of support by George Brown, on the understanding that a scheme of federal union should be prepared. The vision of a confederation of British North America was not new to public men; and in particular to Joseph Howe, "The Tribune of Nova Scotia", and Alexander Galt had strongly advocated the idea. Macdonald himself had subscribed to it as one of the objects of the British American League in 1849, and the ideal had long been cherished in his mind. But he was now slower than the impetuous Brown to undertake the carrying out of a project whose difficulties he foresaw. But when, after consultation with Cartier and his Quebec associates, he consented to a coalition of forces for this purpose, he became the one man upon whose steadfastness, ability, and diplomatic skill, the successful issue of the proposal most depended. So

that, as one writer has put it, though John A. Macdonald was only one of the fathers of Confederation, it was chiefly through his fostering care that the tender infant became a vigorous child. He showed his customary spirit of compromise in the conference at Quebec, by withdrawing his own cherished plan of "legislative union", in which the only Parliament would be the general one for the united provinces, in favour of a "federal union", in which each province was also to have its own local government. He showed admirable patience and courage in the crucial years of '65 and '66, when the withdrawal of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, the disaffection of the Maritime Provinces, and the doubtful attitude of Quebec, threatened to disrupt the scheme. Fortunately he had the powerful aid of Tilley in New Brunswick; Tupper in Nova Scotia was resolutely combating the influential Howe, who had now become the champion of the malcontents; while Cartier, with the potent aid of the Church, was dauntlessly fighting the battle for Confederation in Quebec. In Ontario, too, Brown was giving loyal support to the movement, though he had left the government. Nowhere were Macdonald's powers better shown than in the conference of the four provinces with the Home Government at Westminster, where the British North America Act was framed.

A record of this is given by Sir F. Rogers, the under-secretary of the colonies at the time: "Macdonald was the ruling genius and spokesman, and I was greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness. He stated and argued the case with cool, ready fluency, while at the same time you saw that every word was measured, and that while he was making for a point ahead, he was never for a moment unconscious of the rocks among which he had to steer."

What most appealed to Macdonald in Confederation was its national and imperial possibilities. He saw in it the opportunity of building "a nation, a subordinate but still a powerful people, to stand by Britain in North America, in peace or in war." And now, fifty years afterward, as we read the news from the battle-field of France, of the Canadians at Vimy Ridge, how can we withhold admiration of Macdonald's foresight? He lamented that the British government failed to recognize Confederation as an epoch in the history of the Empire, and to dignify United Canada with the title of kingdom.

It was surely this clearness of vision, this courageous optimism, this steadfast belief in the future of Canada and the Empire, that inspired Macdonald to embark upon the notable enterprises that followed his assumption of the reins of government as Canada's first Premier. It was, we may well believe, the recognition of this quality that had much to do with the long lease of power bestowed upon him by the people of Canada. And it is this quality which most commends him to Canadians and Britons of this generation, and will give him an enduring place among national and imperial statesmen.

The delicate task of setting in motion the machinery of the new government was accomplished by Sir John with consummate skill. Examples of his skill were to be seen in the coalition Liberal-Conservative government, in the selection of the so-called Liberal, Sandfield Macdonald, to form a government in Ontario, and of the "patriote" Chauveau in Quebec, the reconciling of Nova Scotia by "better terms," and the final winning over of Howe. Caution was the watchword with Prince Edward Island and boldness with British Columbia. The apparently audacious promise of a railway from the Pacific to the Atlantic within ten years furnished a political issue for the parties, which soon became definitely aligned as

Conservatives and Reformers. The purchasing of the great North-West from the Hudson's Bay Company was also successfully accomplished. But the creation of the Province of Manitoba, left to the management of subordinates, was attended with such blunderings that a military expedition became necessary to quell the "Riel" rebellion. The strain of these troubles brought on Macdonald a very serious illness, which deprived the country of his services for five months. Only the devoted nursing of his wife brought him through. This same firebrand, Riel, returned in 1884 to head another half-breed revolt, and his subsequent execution, while acclaimed by English-speaking Canada, alienated from Macdonald much French-Canadian sentiment. One of the most difficult positions in which Sir John ever found himself was when he was appointed a member of the Imperial Commission in 1871, to settle with the United States matters of dispute between Great Britain and that country. He felt that, in the desire for peace, Canadian interests might be sacrificed, and that he would be the scapegoat in Canada. Both his fears were realized. But it speaks volumes for his courage that he consented to act, and for his influence in Canada that he succeeded in having Parliament ratify the Treaty of Washington. The subsequent Halifax Commission went far to assuage the wounded feelings of Canada. Sir John's speech in Parliament on the Washington Treaty was one of his best efforts. It is said that the President of the United States remarked that "our fellows thought they had diplomatic children to deal with, but Sir John Macdonald euchred them all."

But from the next difficult situation Macdonald could not so easily extricate himself. We refer to the situation created by the so-called "Pacific Scandal." Among other reasons, the failure of the Washington Treaty to deal with

the Fenian claims and the mismanagement of affairs in the North-West, had made uncertain the return of the government in the elections of 1872. However, the majority, though reduced, was sufficient, and the business of the railway was being considered, when suddenly came the charge of a corrupt bargain between the government and the promoting company. Though the contribution to the party funds was admitted, yet Sir John always repudiated any personal bargain. "These hands," he said, are clean." Notwithstanding a fervid personal appeal, the feeling of the House set against the transaction, and the verdict of the country was also unfavourable. Without doubt Sir John was quite sincere in his belief that the best interests of Canada and Confederation depended on the continuance of his policy, "till the gristle," as he expressed it, "had settled into bone." Without doubt, also, election corruption has not been confined to one party in Canada. But one may be permitted to regret that a statesman of his high patriotic ideals regarding the welfare of Canada and the Empire did not also lend his commanding influence in a greater degree to the repression of the reprehensible campaign methods of that day. One quality that always commended him to the people was his frankness and absence of hypocrisy. He freely acknowledged that "he took men as he found them." To one follower who complained of the calibre of some of his government associates, he said: "Give me better wood and I will give you a better cabinet." His inclination to play upon the foibles of men, as well as to utilize their strength, sometimes took an amusing turn. When a certain Governor-General, who was accompanied by Sir John made a speech in Greek on the occasion of a University Convocation, the newspaper report next day referred to the excellence of the Governor's accent and idiom. "Where did the reporter get that?" said a friend to Sir John. "Why, from

myself," replied Sir John. "But you do not know Greek." "No," said Sir John, "but I know *men*."

Having a picturesque personality and a fondness for anecdote, about him have gathered as many stories as about Abraham Lincoln. A number of these have been collected in a volume by his friend, E. D. Biggar; and they serve to illustrate not merely his humour but his genuine kindness of heart. On account of the fact that the lives of our own public men have not, until recently, been available in attractive form for the study of Canadian youth, we have been made more familiar with the early struggles of Lincoln and Garfield as examples of men who "from low estate have grown to greatness." But youth may learn this lesson equally well and more patriotically from the early life of Sir John A. Macdonald. For his youth had none of the advantages of family riches, high birth, or great connections, and he owed his high place to his own exertions. His father emigrated from Glasgow in 1820 when John was five, and lived at Kingston and other places in the Bay of Quinte neighbourhood during John's boyhood. He was never a successful pioneer and it was the mother who "kept the family together," and instilled into this lad of promise those habits of industry, which were later to prove of such value. The father died young; but the mother lived to the age of eighty-five and was ever the object of her distinguished son's tender care. "I had no youth," Sir John used to say sadly, referring to the fact that at the age of fifteen, after five years of school at Kingston, he began work in a law office. It is sufficient proof of his energy and ability that he was called to the bar in six years, and during the eight years preceding his first election, had worked up a considerable and growing practice. A coincidence worthy of note is that two of the first students in his office were Oliver Mowat and Alexander Campbell,

both destined, like himself, to achieve distinction in politics and to be knighted by their sovereign. Sir Oliver Mowat recalled in later life that John Macdonald was as popular with boys as he afterwards became with men.

Predictions were freely made that the disaster of 1873 was to mean the "finish" of Macdonald's career. But called by their insistence to lead the loyal remnant of his party in Opposition, he displayed a courage and cheerfulness that won respect; and confident in his own powers of future usefulness, waited on events. Nor had he to wait long. ✓ The timid policy of the government on railway development, the absence of popular leadership, and the commercial crisis gave him his opportunity. The policy of protection had been long in his mind. As with Confederation, he did not now adopt it impetuously; but having once taken it up, he embarked upon an enthusiastic campaign that carried all before it. He shrewdly fostered the national sentiment to which it appealed, and in a series of political picnics painted in lively colours the revival of prosperity and the "tall chimneys" which would follow its adoption. He was well aware of his supremacy as a campaigner and he had able support. Though not an orator, he had the gift of getting quickly to the pith of any subject and of expounding it in clear and simple language. But he often left to lieutenants the more serious exposition of the subject, doubtless recognizing that, as Parkin has expressed it, "his winning personality, his natural sociability, his ready wit, his marvellous power of remembering faces, were far more valuable assets than his speeches." He had the great art of winning friends, and his own early experience made it easy for him to have a sympathetic understanding of the humble. Authentic instances are recorded of his recognizing and naming a chance acquaintance after the lapse of forty years.

His long lease of power from this election in 1878 to his death in 1891 cannot be explained merely by the personal devotion of his followers, unparalleled though that was, or by his powers of political strategy, which were acknowledged as consummate. The people of Canada must have also preferred his chief policies as more nearly representing their national sentiment. The policy of protection is still the national policy. The Canadian Pacific Railway is everywhere regarded as a great national asset. These stand as monuments of his constructive genius and far-sighted leadership. Without reflecting on the genius and industry of its great promoters, it is not too much to say that without the courageous support of Sir John A. Macdonald at critical times the completing of the Canadian Pacific Railway would not have been possible.

There were, of course, various measures of his governments in that long period of power which were not above criticism. The management of North-West affairs in 1884 was no happier than in 1870. Sir John was never a believer in universal suffrage; and the Franchise Act of 1885 and especially the "Gerrymander" of 1882 met with much opposition. His "centralizing" policy brought him into a conflict with Oliver Mowat as the upholder of provincial rights—a conflict from which Macdonald did not always emerge triumphant. The "sins of omission and commission," as Sir John himself phrased it, of any democratic government which lasts too long, and the depression in trade made his re-election in 1891 doubtful. The Liberals advanced Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States as a remedy for the commercial crisis. But making use of the circumstances that some of the advocates of the policy happened to be annexationists, and shrewdly recognizing the profound suspicion that Canadians of that period had regarding the United States, Sir John issued his famous "manifesto of loyalty" and rode to

victory for the last time on the cry of "The Old Flag, The Old Man, and The Old Policy." So loud was the call for his presence that he had felt it needful to take an active part in the winter campaign. But the strain was too great for his failing strength, and he was seized with illness soon after the meeting of the House and died on June 6, 1891. He met this last crisis with his customary calm fortitude. The outburst of grief was universal. Never had statesman inspired such affection. All Canada went into mourning. Crowds thronged to Ottawa for a last look. Queen Victoria sent a wreath of roses for the bier of her "faithful and devoted servant." A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey, and many noble tributes were paid to his memory. Lord Roseberry, in unveiling the bust erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, said:

"Up above there sleep Wellington and Nelson, those lords of war who preserved the empire; below here we have effigies of Dalley and Macdonald, who did so much to preserve it. We have not, indeed, their bodies. They rest more fitly in the regions where they lived and laboured; but here to-day we consecrate their memory and their example. We know nothing of party politics in Canada on this occasion. We recognize only this, that Sir John Macdonald had grasped the central idea, that the British Empire is the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind; that that was the secret of his success, and that he determined to die under it, and strove that Canada should live under it."

Sir John A. Macdonald had been fond of power; but he had also been devoted to service. Canada recognized this; and the words he used in his own dark hour would be accepted by his countrymen as his fitting epitaph:

"There does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."



LEADERS OF CONFEDERATION.

GEORGE BROWN

In reading the history of Canada, no one can fail to be impressed by the number of Scotchmen whose character and ability have had an enormous effect on the development of our country. In the early days, the Hudson's Bay factors in the West and the Scotch pioneers in Ontario played important parts in opening up the country. Later, in railway building and industrial and commercial development, Scotch names meet us at every turn. Even more important was the work of Scotchmen in winning for Canada responsible government and the freedom of civil and religious life that we now enjoy. To none of these men do we owe more than to George Brown.

George Brown was born at Alloa, on the Forth, on November 29, 1818. His father, Peter Brown, was a merchant and builder. His mother was of Highland blood. To this parentage he owed the sane common-sense and impulsive energy which were the foundation of his character. Both his parents were keenly interested in the religious struggle in Scotland which ended in the disruption of the Church, and their sympathies lay with those who believed that it was the fundamental law of the Church that no pastor should be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people. All the religious influence of the household through young Brown's early years was on the side of freedom, and its effect is seen in his later life, when he constantly opposed the establishment of a State Church in Canada.

He was educated at the High School and Southern Academy in Edinburgh. Even at this time signs of his future career were not lacking. "This young man," said Dr. Gunn, of the Southern Academy, "is not only endowed with high enthusiasm, but possesses the faculty of

creating enthusiasm in others." While one must not attach too great significance to praise given to a school-boy, it is true that these words strike the key-note of Brown's character and reveal the source of his power over men.

In 1838 business reverses caused the Browns to emigrate to America. For four years they earned a living by contributing to *The Albion*, a weekly newspaper published in New York for British residents in the United States. In 1842 they established in New York *The British Chronicle*, a paper designed for Scottish and Presbyterian readers in the United States and Canada. An attempt to increase the Canadian circulation of this paper brought George Brown to Canada in 1843. As a result of his survey of the Canadian field, the Browns removed to Toronto, where they published *The Banner*, a weekly paper partly religious and partly political, in both fields championing the cause of government by the people. Politics gradually occupied more and more space in its columns, until on March 5, 1844, *The Globe* was established as an avowed political paper and advocate of responsible government.

For the next seven years *The Globe* absorbed all of Brown's energies. The problem of the settlement of the Clergy Reserves, the effort to combat sectarian control of education, the battle of constitutional right against the undue interference of executive power, and the question of reciprocity with the Maritime Provinces and the United States, were the great issues of the day. In all these the growing influence of Brown through *The Globe* was exerted to obtain freedom in commerce, church, and State.

In 1851 Brown was elected to Parliament for the first time. He rapidly rose to a commanding position in the assembly, entirely through his own energy and force of

conviction. His industry and capacity for work were wonderful. He spoke well and on a wide range of subjects requiring careful study and mastery of facts. During this period, he obtained a hold upon the affections of the people of Upper Canada which was never lost. Even journals opposed to his political convictions paid him tribute. For instance, the *Cobourg Star* estimates his character as follows: "In George Brown we see no agitator or demagogue, but the strivings of common sense, a sober will to attain the useful, the practical, and the needful. He has patient courage, stubborn endurance, and obstinate resistance, and desperate daring in attacking what he believes to be wrong and defending what he believes to be right. There is no cant or parade or tinsel or clap-trap about him. He takes his stand against open, palpable, tangible wrongs, against the tyranny which violates men's roofs and the intolerance which vexes their consciences. His leading principle is to reconcile progress with preservation, change with stability, the alteration of incidents with the maintenance of essentials."

We have an interesting description of Brown as he appeared at this time at a banquet given in his honour at Galt. "He was a striking figure. Standing fully six feet two inches high, with a well-proportioned body, well-balanced head, and handsome face, his appearance not only indicated much mental and physical strength, but conveyed in a marked manner an impression of youthfulness and candour. These impressions deepened as his address proceeded, and his features grew animated and were lighted up by his fine expressive eyes."

By 1857 Brown had become the acknowledged leader of the Reform party in Upper Canada. All his efforts were directed toward finding a remedy for the evils arising from the ill-advised legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada. He demanded representation by popula-

tion, to give Upper Canada its just influence in the legislature. He wished to bring about the entire separation of church and state, placing all denominations on an even footing and leaving each to support its own religious establishments from the contributions of its own people. Despite all opposition and numberless discouragements, the agitation was carried on under his leadership, until the Act of Confederation gave the people of Ontario fair representation and complete control over local affairs.

Not only did Brown work energetically for the federation of the Canadas, but he also had the necessary breadth of view to see that all British America should be united in one great country. Speaking at a Reform Convention held in 1859 to deal with the question of Confederation, he said in answer to a query whether federation was a step towards nationality: "I do place the question on grounds of nationality. I do hope there is not one Canadian in this assembly who does not look forward with high hope to the day when these northern countries shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great Confederation. What true Canadian can witness the tide of emigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North-West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great, fertile country? Who does not feel that to us rightfully belong the right and the duty of carrying the blessings of civilization throughout those boundless regions, and making our own country the highway of traffic to the Pacific?"

In 1862 Brown sailed for Great Britain, and there had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, in which the Canadian situation was freely discussed. While in Britain he married Miss Anne Nelson, the daughter of the well-known publisher, Thomas Nelson. This was the beginning of a most happy domestic life, lasting until his

death in 1880. His wife survived him until May, 1906. On his return to Toronto, his popularity was shown by the crowd of thousands of friends waiting to welcome him at the station. In reply to a complimentary address, he said: "I have come back with strength invigorated, with new and, I trust, enlarged views, and with the most earnest desire to aid in advancing the prosperity and happiness of Canada."

In 1864 he was appointed chairman of a committee to consider the difficulties connected with the government of Canada. On June 14 he brought in a report recommending "a federative system, applied either to Canada or to the whole British North American provinces." Negotiations followed, resulting in the formation of a coalition government, in which John A. Macdonald and George Brown were the leaders. In October a conference was held at Quebec, in which a scheme of confederation was elaborated. In December Brown went to England to obtain the views of the British Government, and was able to report that the scheme had given prodigious satisfaction. Largely because of his work, Confederation became a reality.

In 1867 he was defeated in South Ontario. He regarded this as an opportunity to retire from parliamentary life. He had long determined to make his farewell bow as a politician as soon as the position of the Liberal party was satisfactory. He desired to be free to write of men and things without restraint, and he realized that party leadership and the conducting of a great journal did not harmonize. He had to choose either the position of a leader in parliamentary life or that of a monitor in the public press. His own words give his preference. "In view of all the grand offices that are now talked of—governorships, premierships, and the like—I would rather

be editor of *The Globe* with the hearty confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada than to have the choice of them all."

In 1873 Brown was appointed to the Senate. There his career was without incident, as his interests lay elsewhere. Left comparatively free to follow his own inclinations, he plunged into farming, spending money and energy freely on the raising of fine cattle on his estate near Brantford. His farm and *The Globe* filled the last years of his life.

On March 25, 1880, he was attacked by a discharged employee named Bennett. This man entered the Senator's office in *The Globe* Building, and demanded his signature to a certificate of five years' service with *The Globe*. On being refused, he drew a pistol and fired. The shot passed through the leg, and the wound was not considered dangerous. But week after week passed without any improvement. Throughout April Senator Brown became weaker and weaker, and finally he passed away on May 10.

It is in the work done by George Brown in connection with Confederation that our interest chiefly lies. When we compare our present country, strong and united, with all the essentials of a great nation, bearing her due share of the heavy burden the present war has laid upon the Empire, with the weak and scattered British provinces of fifty years ago, and we realize that much of this is due to the energy, ability, and foresight of George Brown, no praise can be too great for the man or his work. His influence—and it was great—was ever exerted on the side of freedom and justice. In all things he showed himself a true man and noble patriot.

CANADA TO-DAY AND IN PROSPECT

The Twentieth Century is Canada's. It does not need the eye of a prophet to see that in the very near future Canada's population will be trebled or quadrupled. The temperate regions of the earth have few vacant places, the tropical practically none. Yet the people of the earth continue to increase and multiply. The southern parts of western Canada, southern Siberia, certain parts of South America, South Africa, and Australia are but sparsely peopled at present, yet all are eminently suited for settlement by white races. Population will pour into these places as air rushes into a vacuum. It cannot be prevented, for it is the law of evolving nature. And of all the countries mentioned it would seem as if Canada would be first to receive the great tides of emigration. She appears to be better prepared and better fitted to receive them. This prospective rapid development of Canada demands the careful organization and utilization of her wonderful material resources. It also obligates Canadians to see to it that only the worthy are invited to participate in the coming prosperity. The factors and conditions which will determine Canada's future will now be dispassionately brought under review.

According to the census of 1911 Canada had an area of 3,729,665 square miles, about one third the area of the British Empire, and a population of 7,206,643. The present-day population can only be estimated, but it is certainly not less than 8,000,000. Canada is truly the country of broad acres, for she has no less than 2,387,000,000 of them. But her people are few in number, less than two per square mile of land area. If Canada were as densely peopled as the British Isles, the population would be 2,000,000,000. This figure Canada

will never, of course, be able to reach, because of her geographical situation, since large areas have an arctic or sub-arctic climate.

The most southerly point of Canada is in the Western Peninsula of Ontario, on the shores of Lake Erie. This point, about 42° north latitude, is on the same parallel as Madrid and Rome. The most northerly point is on the Arctic Ocean, within a few hundred miles of the North Pole. Only a small fraction of the country lies south of the 49th parallel, which forms the southern boundary from the Pacific to the Great Lakes. From east to west along the southern boundary the country is more than 3,000 miles across. These features, combined with great variety in elevations, make for a varied climate and for varied agricultural resources.

Canada's population is uniquely distributed. Practically the whole of it is found to-day within a strip of 100-200 miles along the southern boundary. Geographical factors determine this condition. The vast areas of northern Quebec, Yukon (207,076 sq. m.) and the North-West Territories (1,242,224 sq. m.) will never contain a large population. They lie beyond the wheat line, where the indigenous population must, in the main, be carnivorous in diet. Still, with all these limitations, Canada has many thousands of square miles with a temperate climate awaiting the coming of the settler.

Canada's present-day population is largely of British or French descent, 55% British and 28.5% French. The remainder is made up of people of German descent (5.5%), other Europeans (6.3%) and people of various origins (5.6%). The people of French origin are found mainly in Quebec, although French settlements are found in western and northern Ontario, in the prairies provinces, and wherever lumbering is carried on. They cling tenaci-

ously to their religion, their language, and their customs. People of British origin are found in every province and particularly in the Maritime Provinces and Ontario. The non-English-speaking immigrants of the past two decades have settled largely on the prairie lands of the North-West. Of Canada's population in 1911, 78% was native-born, 7.21% English or Welsh, 2.35% Scotch, 4.21% American, and the remainder Irish, German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, Chinese, etc. The probable influence of future immigration upon the population of the country can be judged from the following statistics:

IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA

Year	British	Continental	U. S. A.	Total
1905.....	65,317	36,213	44,424	145,954
1910.....	112,638	65,851	124,602	303,091
1913.....	156,984	146,103	115,751	418,838
1914.....	49,879	50,392	68,659	168,930
10 years.....	1,012,641	703,604	893,012	2,609,257

During the decade under discussion, British, and Americans largely of British stock, are seen to preponderate. For many years to come, immigrants from present enemy countries will find but a cold welcome. Consequently it may be assumed that in the immediate future immigrants from the British Isles, largely ex-soldiers and their families, will make up a great part of Canada's newcomers. These immigrants will be desirable in many ways. The task of locating them will be a tremendous one, largely because conditions of life in Canada differ so greatly from those of the British Isles. But it is a task that Canada will have to face immediately after the present war.

Canada's resources may be discussed from many angles. Only a few of the more important will be touched upon.

First and foremost comes the grain industry, for the prospect of expansion in the immediate future is very bright. Canada, in 1913, harvested 700,000,000 bushels of grain. To this total, wheat contributed 231,000,000, oats 404,000,000, barley 48,000,000, and flax 17,000,000 bushels. While all the provinces contributed, the greatest amount was produced in the three prairie provinces, now a recognized granary for the world. At present less than 10% of the arable area of these provinces has been touched by the plough. Government returns show that only 16,150,000 acres are under cultivation, while a conservative estimate shows that 272,000,000 acres are still available for agricultural purposes. The crop for 1915 in these three provinces was the largest in their history, being 605,000,000 bushels, divided as follows: wheat 265,000,000, oats 300,000,000, and barley 40,000,000 bushels. A crop of 800,000,000 bushels of wheat is easily possible for the prairies. Canada will then be the greatest wheat-producing country in the world. At the present time she stands fifth, being beaten by Russia, the United States, India, and France. By 1925 she will have overtaken both France and India, providing she can find the necessary rural population for her farms. At least 2,000,000 more will be needed before she ousts Russia and the United States from the premier position they now jointly occupy.

Future development depends first and foremost on population to work the virgin land. Scientific experimentation should lead to the production of a quickly ripening grain which would reduce the risks of early frosts to a vanishing point. Mixed farming and artificial manuring will improve the fertility of the soil and the

average yield per acre for grains, which now stands at: wheat, 20 bushels; oats, 45 bushels; barley, 34 bushels, will be materially increased. Irrigation of the dry region of southern Alberta—an easy matter since there are numerous snow-fed rivers on the eastern slopes of the Rockies—will also add to production. Extension of transportation facilities by the construction of branch railway lines will bring many acres under cultivation that are now unoccupied. Settlement in Canada follows railway construction: in European countries it usually precedes it.

Dairying and the raising of live stock for food are important industries of Canada to-day, but there is ample room for almost unlimited expansion and development, as the following statistics will show:

NUMBERS OF LIVE STOCK IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES; WITH
STATISTICS OF AREA AND POPULATION

—	Area sq. miles	Population	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
Canada	3,729,665	7,206,643	6,036,817	2,058,045	3,434,261
Australia	3,063,041	4,872,023	11,493,167	85,046,724	800,367
New Zealand	103,860	1,084,662	2,020,171	74,191,810	348,754
United States	3,026,789	91,972,266	56,592,000	49,719,000	58,933,000
Argentina	1,131,841	7,123,663	28,786,168	80,401,486	2,900,000
United Kingdom	120,851	45,370,000	11,963,600	27,629,206	3,305,771
France	207,076	39,601,509	14,705,900	16,467,700	6,903,750
Denmark	15,042	2,757,076	1,281,974	726,879	1,467,822
Russia	1,862,524	122,550,700	48,896,000	74,066,000	13,508,000
Germany	208,780	64,925,993	20,182,021	5,803,445	21,923,707

In connection with agricultural resources a word may not be out of place respecting climate, since that is the main factor determining them. The July temperatures of the greater part of the Dominion lie between 50° F. and 70° F. The prairies have a higher, and the land bordering the Arctic Ocean, a lower range than this. The summer temperatures, therefore, correspond to those of France, Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. The winter temperatures, however, are lower than those found

in the foregoing European countries. The January range for certain parts of the Dominion is from 30° above to 30° below zero, corresponding to that of Central Russia and Siberia. A wide range of crops can be grown in the summer. The precipitation in the form of rain or snow is sufficient, as a rule, for the growth of annual crops. Only one district, southern Alberta, requires irrigation. The precipitation in western British Columbia is 100 inches and over, in the St. Lawrence valley from 20 to 40 inches, in Manitoba and Saskatchewan 10 to 20 inches. Fortunately the rainfall on the prairies is heaviest during the growing months of June and July.

Practically every known economic mineral is to be found somewhere in the Dominion. Of some, like the nickel ores, Canada has practically a world monopoly. The great Laurentian Plateau stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Mackenzie Basin is shot through and through with mineral veins of every description. The same can be said of the mountains of British Columbia. What the future holds no man knows, but the proved mineral-bearing regions, like the Sudbury, Cobalt, and Porcupine districts of Ontario, indicate that the mineral wealth of Canada will prove one of her greatest assets. As the following table shows, coal, nickel, gold, copper, silver, and portland cement, were the most important minerals produced in Canada during 1915.

PRODUCTION OF PRINCIPAL MINERALS IN CANADA, 1915

METALLIC

Product	Quantity	Value
Cobalt, metallic.....lbs.	211,610
Cobalt, oxide	379,219	\$502,388
Nickel, metallic	55,325
Nickel, oxide	200,032	42,193
Copper, valued at 17.275c. per lb..	102,612,486	17,726,407
Gold	916,076	18,936,971
Iron, pig, from Canadian ore...tons	158,598	1,740,808

Iron-ore sold for export..... "	93,444	187,682
Lead, valued at 5.60c. per lb....lbs.	45,377,065	2,541,116
Nickel, valued at 30c. per lb. "	68,077,828	20,423,348
Silver, valued at 40.60c. per oz.,...oz.	28,401,735	14,088,397
Zinc ore	15,553	636,204

NON-METALLIC

Product	Quantity	Value
Asbestos	113,115 tons	\$3,491,450
Asbestic	25,700 "	21,819
Chromite	14,291 "	208,718
Coal	13,209,371 "	31,957,757
Feldspar	15,455 "	59,124
Graphite	2,610 "	121,023
Grindstones	2,580 "	35,768
Gypsum	470,335 "	849,928
Magnesite	14,779 "	126,535
Mica	81,021
Ochres	6,248 "	48,353
Natural gas	18,319,710 cu. ft. M.	3,300,825
Petroleum, valued at \$1.395 per bbl..	215,464	330,825
Pyrites	296,910 tons	1,028,678
Quartz	127,108 "	205,153
Salt	119,900 "	600,226
Talc	11,885 "	40,554

STRUCTURAL MATERIALS AND CLAY PRODUCTS

Product	Quantity	Value
Cement, Portland	5,681,032 bbls.	\$6,977,024
Clay Products—		
Brick, common, pressed, and paving		2,341,483
Sewer pipe		795,646
Fire clay, drain tile, pottery, etc..		781,071
Kaolin	1,300 tons	13,000
Lime	4,932,767 bush.	1,015,878
Sand and Gravel		2,098,683
Sand lime brick	23,211,802 No.	182,651
Slate	397 Sq.	2,039
Stone—		
Granite		1,634,084
Limestone		2,504,731
Marble and sandstone		365,784

Total Structural Materials and Clay Products...	\$18,712,074
Total all other Non-metallic	42,801,694
Total Metallic	77,046,082

Grand total, 1915 \$138,559,850

The basic minerals for industrial purposes are coal and iron. Canada has an abundance of coal, much of which is at present unworked. Iron is found at the head of Lake Superior, in Nova Scotia, and in a few other places. Fortunately Newfoundland has extensive iron mines conveniently situated for the Nova Scotia coal-field. That Quebec and Ontario should be practically without coal is a great misfortune. But the substitution of hydro-electric power for steam power in these provinces somewhat mitigates the hardship. At present the two most highly developed coal-fields are situated on the sea coasts of Nova Scotia and British Columbia. For export purposes the situation of these fields could not be improved. As the prairie provinces become settled, the immense coal resources of Alberta will be developed and the lignite coals of Saskatchewan will also be utilized. Canada's coal resources are estimated as follows:

	Metric tons
Nova Scotia	9,718,968,000
New Brunswick	151,000,000
Ontario	25,000,000
Manitoba	160,000,000
Saskatchewan	59,812,000,000
Alberta	1,072,627,400,000
British Columbia	76,034,942,000
Yukon	4,940,000,000
North-West Territories	4,800,000,000
Arctic Islands	6,000,000,000

If Ontario is practically coalless, she has compensations in her enormous reserves of peat, which only await the invention of a satisfactory method of drying to enable her to use peat commercially on a large scale. Peat contains 90% of water, some of which is held as hydro-cellulose and cannot be dried out by ordinary means. Still the so-called "wet-process" of drying peat has proved itself partially successful. The peat is best employed in the production of producer gas. The potential

value of the peat can be realized from the fact that the known peat bogs of Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick cover an area of 12,000 square miles. This is equivalent to 5,400,000,000 tons of anthracite coal.

The nickel industry centres mainly in the Sudbury district of Ontario. At present it is growing rapidly, although it may still be said to be in its infancy. The ores are situated around the edges of a huge oval basin and, as far as proved, are believed to be sufficient to supply the world for the next 2,000 years. When the nickel mines and refineries of Canada are fully developed, and when nickel supplants iron for pots, pans, and other articles, the industry will employ its hundreds of thousands of workers.

Gold is found in every province in Canada with the possible exception of Prince Edward Island. At the present time it is obtained chiefly from the alluvial deposits of the Yukon and of British Columbia, and from the milling ores of Ontario, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia. Ontario now leads in gold production. The rapid development of the Porcupine district has made it second to the Rand as a gold-producing district. As new discoveries over a fairly wide area are being constantly made, the Porcupine district should rapidly increase in importance.

The great silver district of Cobalt adjoins the gold-producing Porcupine district. Both are served by a Provincial railway, which makes it possible for a traveller to drop from a luxurious Pullman car into the heart of these great mining centres. Cobalt has produced nearly \$140,000,000 worth of silver since mining commenced in 1904, and now produces $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons of silver each working day. The gold production of Ontario is worth about \$9,000,000 per year, and bids fair to overtake silver in the near future.

British Columbia is at present the principal copper-producing province of the Dominion, although important amounts are contributed by Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario. The North-West Territories, in the region between Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean, are known to possess almost limitless deposits of copper. It is unfortunate that the severity of the climate will delay the opening up of this promising region.

Canada has the most extensive and productive fisheries of all the countries in the world. Every square mile of her coastal or inland waters abounds in fish. The Atlantic seaboard has 5,000 miles of sea coast, the Pacific 7,000 miles, while the fresh, interior waters occupy 220,000 square miles, and are stocked with whitefish, salmon-trout, pickerel, black bass and other excellent food fish. The principal fishing industries of the Atlantic coast are concerned with cod, lobsters (100,000,000 per annum), herring, sardines, and oysters. On the Pacific coast the industry is confined to halibut, herring, and whale fishing, and in the rivers to salmon. Salmon and lobsters form the bases of extensive canning industries. The value of the fisheries in 1912 was \$34,667,882, of which Nova Scotia produced 9½ millions and British Columbia 13½ millions. The value of the cod alone was 10½ million dollars. Everything points to an exceedingly bright future.

Trees, next to cereals, are the most important product of the soil. With the exception of the prairies, the barren lands of the Arctic, and the cleared settlements of the St. Lawrence Basin, practically the whole surface of Canada is forest-covered. There are 800,000 square miles of forest area. The cordillerian forest of British Columbia is densely wooded and constitutes singly the most valuable forest area of the Dominion. But the lumbering indus-

tries of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario are also important, and will become increasingly so as the available timber supply of the world diminishes. Canada's export of lumber in 1915-16 was valued at \$51,000,000. Unfortunately forest fires destroy annually more timber than is cut for use. Afforestation is probably not yet needed in Canada. Nature will see to the replenishment of forest areas if only man will prevent destructive fires from raging. With the increasing demand for lumber and with the development of the wood-pulp industry for paper-making, Canada's forests should prove as great an asset as her minerals and her fertile prairie lands.

Since the outbreak of the Great War Canada has made rapid strides as a manufacturing country. In spite of great agricultural and mineral resources, almost one half (46%) of her people dwell in urban centres. Ontario and Quebec practically monopolize the manufacturing industries of the Dominion. The value of manufactured products of these Provinces for 1911 were: Ontario \$579,-810,225, Quebec \$350,901,656, out of a total value for the Dominion of \$1,165,975,639. Canada used to be a debtor nation, that is, the value of her imports exceeded that of her exports. This state of affairs is now reversed, and the balance of trade is no longer against her. For example, Canada's trade for the fiscal year of 1915-16 reached a total of \$1,424,000,000. Exports amounted to a total of \$741,000,000, distributed as follows:

Manufactures	\$242,000,000..
Agricultural products	250,000,000
Animal products	102,000,000
Minerals	66,000,000
Lumber	51,000,000
Fish	22,000,000

Imports were valued at \$507,000,000, of which \$289,-000,000 were dutiable goods and \$218,000,000 free goods.

Canada's chief customers were Great Britain and the United States. The manufactures of Canada are varied. Agricultural implements and the manufacture of products having a close connection with the agricultural, mineral, and forest resources occupy the leading positions. As in almost every other field, Canada's future as a manufacturing country seems very bright indeed.

Transportation in Canada is conducted chiefly by means of water and rail. The cold winter closes all navigation in Canada for three or four months of the year except on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. This is a severe handicap. Moreover, Canada's river systems for the most part drain into the Arctic Ocean or Hudson Bay, which increases the handicap still further. The chief water-way is the St. Lawrence River and the chain of Great Lakes. The largest ocean-going ships can pass to the port of Montreal, 1,000 miles inland. Smaller vessels can pass from Montreal to the head of the Great Lakes. With the cutting of new canals and the deepening of existing ones, navigation from the mouth of the St. Lawrence almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains should become possible. For the produce of British Columbia the new Panama Canal affords a convenient water-way to the markets of Europe. The new Welland Canal will have a depth of 25 feet, thus permitting the transportation of wheat and lumber in great vessels from Fort William to Montreal, with only one transshipment into barges at Kingston. The enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals, a difficult matter, will in time do away with this necessity for even one transshipment. The Hudson Bay route, practicable for a few months of the year, is being developed rapidly and will afford, when completed, a convenient outlet for the products of the prairie. Port Nelson is as near to Liverpool as is Mon-

trear. The prairie rivers—the Assiniboine, the Red River, and the Saskatchewan are navigable, but the traffic upon them is somewhat local in character. With some dredging and the construction of locks they may in time become important factors in the transportation of grain.

The Government of Canada since Confederation has subsidized 157 railways to the extent of \$92,566,152. At present Canada possesses 30,794 miles of railway. This is enough to care for double the population they now serve. The main railways are the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern, the Canadian Government Railways, and the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway. The Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk Pacific, and the Canadian Northern are transcontinental lines. The following are a few of the salient facts connected with Canadian railways for the year 1912: capital, \$1,900,443,784; passengers, 41,124,181; freight, 89,444,331 tons; mileage, 26,727; earnings, \$219,403,753; working expenses, \$150,726,540; proportion of expenses to receipts, 68.7 per cent.; train mileage, 107,040,298; rolling stock, 4,484 locomotives, 4,946 passenger, baggage and express cars, 151,384 freight and other cars; passengers per head of population, 5.53; tons of freight per head of population, 12.05. The above figures show the great need for population.

What of Canada's future? Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that the opening statement of this section "The twentieth century is Canada's," is not a flight of rhetoric but the sober and literal truth. No country under the sun has such a promising future before it. But whether or not this brilliant future is realized depends wholly on present-day Canadians. None of it will be gained without hard work, none without intelligence. The application of science to industry and agriculture should em-

ploy the best brains of the community. The soil can be made more fertile, stock can be improved, natural resources such as minerals and water power utilized, and transportation difficulties overcome only through the intelligent application of scientific knowledge. Canada's schools must remain alert to meet new conditions; the universities must be increasingly developed, especially along lines of scientific research. But above all, those ideals of liberty and justice which are peculiarly British, must be fostered in the people, or all else, material development and riches, will be largely in vain.



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